97-84038-12

Graham, Whidden

After national prohibition - what?

[n.p.]

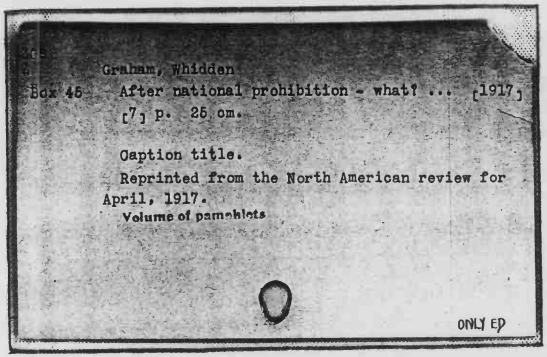
[1917]

97-84038-12
MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DIVISION

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD


Graham, Whidden
Box 45 After national prohibition - what? ... [1917]
[7] p. 25 cm.
Caption title.
Reprinted from the North American review for April, 1917.
Volume of pamphlets
ONLY EP

RESTRICTIONS ON USE: Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35 mm REDUCTION RATIO: 12:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 3-4-97 INITIALS: PB

TRACKING # : 20973

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC IRREGULARITIES

MAIN ENTRY: Graham, Whidden

After national prohibition - what?

Bibliographic Irregularities in the Original Document:

List all volumes and pages affected; include name of institution if filming borrowed text.

_____Page(s) missing/not available:_____

_____Volume(s) missing/not available:_____

_____Illegible and/or damaged page(s):_____

_____

_____Page(s) or volume(s) misnumbered:_____

_____Bound out of sequence:_____

_____Page(s) or volume(s) filmed from copy borrowed from:_____

_____

X unpaginated - [7] pages

_____Other:_____

_____

_____Inserted material:_____

TRACKING#: MSH20973

*AFTER NATIONAL PROHIBITION—WHAT?

BY WHIDDEN GRAHAM

It is by no means unlikely that we shall have a trial of national prohibition. When we consider the appalling ignorance of the average voter as to the elementary principles of what is termed the "liquor problem"; the power of the militant fanatics who appeal to what they call "moral reform forces," but what is in reality the desire to meddle with the personal tastes and habits of others; and the pressure on the average legislator to vote in accordance with the apparent sentiment of his constituents, there would seem to be every reason why the demand for prohibition should prevail. Reason and logic are powerless against the arrogance of self-constituted reformers, obsessed with the idea that they have a right to inflict their views regarding the use of alcoholic beverages upon their fellow-citizens by repressive legislation.

Assuming that the Congress yields to the importunities of the prohibition agitators, and that three-fourths of the States vote for the so-called Hobson amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the sale, or manufacture for sale, of alcoholic beverages, what will be the effect in diminishing the consumption of liquors? To answer this question it is necessary to explain briefly the nature of alcohol, and the method by which it is produced.

In dealing with the problems arising from the excessive use of alcoholic beverages it is important to keep in mind the central fact that it is the presence of the substance of "alcohol" that gives these beverages their exhilarating or intoxicating qualities. Without the alcohol all forms of liquor would simply be so much water, flavored with fruit

*Reprinted from The North American Review for April 1917.

juices or grain extracts. It is the suppression of alcohol that is ostensibly aimed at in all prohibitory legislation.

The use of beverages containing alcohol is as old as human history. In the earliest times of which we have records, men discovered that the juice of grapes, if allowed to ferment, underwent changes that resulted in giving it new qualities. In countries too cold for grape growing, crushed grains were mixed with water and yeast added, the resulting fermentation yielding beer, ale, etc. At a later period the process known as "distillation," in which the alcohol is separated from wine or beer by heating the mixture, driving the alcohol off as vapor, and condensing it by passing through a cooling chamber, was invented, and the various kinds of distilled spirits known as brandy, whiskey, gin, rum, schnapps, vodka, etc., were produced.

The process by which alcohol is manufactured is exceedingly simple, and requires no expert knowledge or complicated machinery. The juice of apples kept in a moderately warm room soon ferments, and part of the sugar contents is changed into alcohol, forming what is popularly known as "hard" cider. If this cider is heated in an ordinary tea-kettle the alcohol, being lighter than water, is separated from the rest of the mixture and passes off as a vapor. By conducting this vapor through a rubber tube passing through a pail of cold water the alcohol is precipitated, and collected in a receptacle placed at the end of the tube. This is the principle of all methods employed in making distilled liquors, the various kinds of mash-tubs, stills and cooling chambers being merely more perfected forms of the kettle and rubber tube.

An even simpler method of making a strong alcoholic beverage is practiced in many rural sections of the Northern States. By leaving a barrel of hard cider out-of-doors in Winter until it freezes solidly, all the alcohol is driven to the center of the mass of ice. A hole is then bored in the ice, and "apple-jack," a highly alcoholic compound, poured out.

The fact that distilled and fermented liquors are now chiefly produced on a large scale, by establishments equipped with costly machinery, makes us forget that this method of manufacture is almost entirely a development of the past century. Formerly beer and ales were largely home-brewed, and in the early years of this country's settlement, the brewing tub was a feature of a great majority of the households. To a considerable extent this was true of distilled liquors, many large estates of the colonial period maintaining a small still in which liquors were made for their own use and for sale. George Washington owned and operated a distillery on his Mount Vernon estate.

With the gradual evolution from individual industries to great manufacturing plants, the production of liquors developed into enterprises conducted on a large scale, in which great amounts of capital are invested. But while this is the present condition, there is no reason why, if occasion arose, the production of liquor should not quickly revert to the primitive conditions under which it was so long carried on.

I have shown how simple and easy it is to produce intoxicating liquors. It is also very inexpensive. With a small outfit costing not more than five dollars, whiskey can be made from sugar or molasses at a cost of not more than 30 cents per gallon. The materials from which liquor can be distilled are found in every home in the country, and no special knowledge or skill is required for converting them into intoxicants. Under existing conditions the cost of alcoholic beverages is not so great as to lead to their home manufacture, in view of the heavy penalties imposed by the Federal laws on the illicit production of liquors. With the adoption of national prohibition there would be no need for the effective preventive service of the United States Internal Revenue Bureau, which is now maintained at great expense for the purpose of ensuring the collection of the taxes on all distilled and fermented beverages, and the Federal laws would soon become a dead letter.

It is notorious that the enforcement of State laws relating to the liquor traffic is exceedingly lax, as compared with that of the Federal laws on the same subject. This is strikingly shown by the fact that in all the prohibition States persons selling liquors in defiance of State laws take out Federal licenses. These illicit liquor dealers are not afraid of the State laws, as they know that public sentiment is not in favor of their enforcement, but they fear the Federal authorities, who are directly interested in seeing that all manufacturers of or dealers in liquors pay the taxes imposed by statute.

What would happen under national prohibition would

be exactly what has happened under State prohibitory laws. With the increase in the number of States that have adopted prohibition, there has been a marked growth in the number of illicit distilleries discovered and destroyed by the Internal Revenue officers, particularly in the Southern prohibition States. The annual report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shows that no less than 3,376 illegal stills were seized during the past fiscal year, 2,720, or more than three-fourths of the total, being located in five prohibition States, and it is admitted that these are only a small percentage of the thousands operated without detection. In the same report attention is called to the great increase in the number of illegal sellers of liquor, commonly called "bootleggers," in the prohibition States—a condition due, it is stated by the Commissioner, to the failure of the State authorities to enforce the law.

Sometime ago a staff correspondent of the New York *Sun* who had been traveling through Mississippi reported that there are said to be in use in that prohibition State thousands of what are known as "kitchen stills," consisting of a tea-kettle, rubber tube, and pail of cold water, with which whiskey is made from molasses. If the illicit still flourishes in spite of the Internal Revenue preventive service, what the condition will be when that service is abandoned can be readily imagined.

And here I wish to point out the fact, unrealized by the general public, that the advocates of national prohibition are not trying to prevent the *use* of liquors, but merely their *sale*, or *manufacture for sale*. Their literature is filled with misleading statistics attempting to show that the use of intoxicants is responsible for the great bulk of the poverty, crime, sickness and insanity from which mankind suffers. They claim that it is the use of alcohol that causes these evils, yet when they advocate national prohibition as a remedy they do not provide for stopping the *use* of this alleged dangerous and injurious substance, but direct all their efforts to preventing its sale. The so-called Hobson amendment to the Constitution of the United States, now being urged upon Congress, contains no provision against the use, or manufacture for use, of the liquors against which so much righteous indignation has been aroused. Should that amendment be adopted it would in no way interfere with the individual production and use of all kinds of alcoholic

beverages, so that the country would quickly return to the conditions of sixty or seventy years ago, when anybody who wished to do so made liquor and drank it.

That this neglect to legislate against the use of intoxicants, while admitting that it is their use that causes all the ills ascribed to them, is not accidental, but a deliberately adopted policy, is shown by former Representative Hobson's speech in Congress in favor of his proposed amendment, when he said: "We do not ask that a man shall not drink. We do not say that a man shall not make liquor in his house for his own use." Could there be stronger proof of the insincerity and hypocrisy of the prohibition advocates than is found in their willingness to allow men to drink what they call "a body and soul destroying poison," so long as they manufacture this poison for themselves instead of buying it from some one else?

A glaring illustration of the dishonesty of the prohibition agitators was furnished in their action on the Sheppard Bill, prohibiting the manufacture or sale of liquor in the District of Columbia. When that measure was pending in the Senate an amendment offered, forbidding the importation of liquors for *use*, was voted down by the friends of the bill. The enactment of the bill was urged on the ground that by preventing the *use* of liquor manifold benefits would be conferred on the residents of the District, yet as passed by Congress the law permits the importation and *use* of alcoholic beverages in any quantity desired. This bill also showed that while professing to believe in majority rule and the right of local self-government, the advocates of prohibitory laws are willing to ride rough-shod over the popular will when they can coerce or intimidate legislators into forcing an unpopular law upon people who do not want it. Determined efforts were made by Senator Underwood to amend the Sheppard Bill so as to provide for submitting the question to the citizens of the District, but this proposition was rejected by the votes of Senators who pretend to believe in the principle of the referendum. This, however, is not surprising, in view of the fact that the Hobson scheme for national prohibition was deliberately planned to force prohibition upon the entire country by the votes of State Legislatures representing a minority of the people, under a system in which the State of Nevada, with 100,000 population, counts the same as the State of New York with 10,000,000 population.

One certain result of national prohibition would be the immediate withdrawal from the business of making or selling liquors of all the self-respecting and honorable citizens now engaged in the industry, who would not for a moment be connected with a calling that had been outlawed. At the present time an overwhelming majority of the manufacturers of liquor, and of those engaged in its sale, are men of good character, who feel that they are, in the words of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, conducting "a lawful business." It is true that there are conditions in connection with the retail sale of liquors by saloons that have justly called forth the severest criticism, and that are responsible for much of the prohibition sentiment of the country. Action has been taken by the liquor manufacturers, and by a large percentage of the retail dealers, to bring about a reform in these conditions, and particularly to aid in securing the strict enforcement of all laws relating to the business. This can not be accomplished all at once; but that satisfactory progress is being made was shown by a report of the Rockefeller Bureau of Social Hygiene in regard to New York City, where there has lately been a marked improvement in all conditions associated with the retail sale of liquors.

Under national prohibition the demand for liquor would no longer be met by the present manufacturers and dealers, including hotels, restaurants and stores selling bottled goods only, but would attract the lowest type of irresponsible traffickers, who have made the names "bootleggers" and "blind pigs" synonymous with the Maine and Kansas illicit liquor sellers. Instead of pure liquors manufactured under the strict supervision of the Federal Government, all kinds of impure and dangerous compounds would be supplied through back-alley sources. Men who formerly stopped occasionally to have one drink would find it easy to buy liquor by the quart and gallon, and having it in their homes would drink more and oftener. The withdrawal of the Federal Internal Revenue preventive service would leave the enforcement of prohibition to State officials, who could not prevent its constant violation. The advocates of national prohibition seem to think that there is some magic about a Constitutional amendment that will insure its enforcement. Mr. Hobson, and all other prohibition advocates from the South, know that Article Fifteen of the Constitution is

flagrantly violated by a number of Southern States through "grandfather" laws, and other restrictions on the suffrage, which are intended to deny to citizens of the United States the right to vote because of their race or color. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 is a striking illustration of an unenforced Federal statute, of which the New York *Times*, discussing it editorially, said: "As everybody knows, it has long been honored by universal want of observance." Neither a law nor a Constitutional amendment will enforce itself, and it is a self-evident fact that an army of 1,000,000 men could not prevent cider from becoming "hard," grape juice from becoming alcoholic, or a person desiring alcohol from making it in his own house by the simple method above described. The net result of national prohibition would therefore be to substitute for pure liquors, manufactured under Government supervision, all sorts of compounds made and sold by "moonshiners" and "bootleggers," from which no revenue would be secured.

If the Hobson amendment becomes the law of the land, liquor will still be made and used, and its illicit sale will be carried on under conditions far worse than those obtaining in any saloon in the "wettest" States.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

MOH # 20973

END OF
TITLE